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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

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TO: Date: 1/2
FROM:

SUBJECT:

REMARKS:

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"ReOrganization"

USSR

14 NOV 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Impressions [redacted]

[redacted] 9 November 1978

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1. The Soviets are really taken aback by Carter's total nuclear disarmament--major conventional disarmament reductions plans. These were things they had proposed some years ago and had been rejected by the United States. We were now outflanking them.

2. Gromyko is firmly convinced they need better relations with the United States.

3. Many of Dobrynin's messages get "wide distribution" to the entire Politburo. Thus, he doesn't really go through the Foreign Ministry and Gromyko.

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4. Brezhnev has recognized for a long time the Soviet economy was in such a bad state that they needed to have SALT and other armament reductions. At the same time, the military industrial complex, and people like Kosygin, are strong enough that it is difficult to effect actual reductions. They're in a real paradox. The recognition of the need and the strength of Brezhnev is such that no one can object to SALT itself, but there is an issue as to whether it will lead to reductions in military expenditures.

5. Gromyko is close to Brezhnev personally, thus he and Dobrynin are two of the major influences with respect to foreign policy involving the United States. Andropov is probably the next, and Ustinov after him.

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6. The Soviet bureaucracy is very inefficient. They have very few qualified secretaries. Even the high-level people have to do a lot of their own secretarial work.

7. Detente really began back with Khrushchev and Kennedy, after Khrushchev and Kennedy had their falling out in Vienna.

8. He felt that economic strains in the Soviet Union would bring down their efforts in Angola. They simply couldn't produce.

9. He pointed out a contradiction between Lenin's statement after the revolution that they would then spread communism by going around the governments to the people in other countries and their present position today against free use of satellites to transmit TV--instead it must be controlled by the government so that the people only get what comes from the government.

a. He elaborated that human rights is really the very critical subject for them for internal reasons.

b. He urged we not underestimate the impact that trade and visits with the West were having. Such things as the flow of goods even from Eastern Europe made the Soviet citizens recognize that their economy could not produce this quality of product.

10. There was and is a basic sense of inferiority. They liked Nixon because he treated them as an equal, e.g., in space, even though they were not.

11. He indicated the Cubans are very tough to deal with, even as far as the Soviets are concerned, e.g., Castro picked his own Soviet Ambassador and got him.

STANSFIELD TURNER
Director